



# ATA NEWSLETTER

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2007  
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Atlantic Treaty Association/Association du Traité Atlantique  
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After a relaxing holiday season, the Secretariat staff is back and working hard to organize our annual spring meetings. We continue to offer our unconditional support to our national associations and look forward to seeing your representatives in Brussels, May 8-9<sup>th</sup>, for the ATA Council meeting.

In this newsletter you will find noteworthy articles addressing NATO's future, an interview with former ATA Vice-President Klaus Naumann concerning 21<sup>st</sup> century peace and security and excerpts of an article by Christopher Coker, London School of Economics, discussing NATO and the dialogue of civilizations, as well as other interesting news from our members. It is hoped that further discussion can be stimulated by the issues raised here and that our national associations will continue to contribute such relevant and interesting material. Enjoy!

## CONCLUSIONS: ATA MEETING WITH NATO PDD

*By: Charlotte Peters, ATA Secretariat Director.*

*February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2007 - ATA Council meeting:* NATO's Jean Fournet and Stephanie Babst stressed the importance of interactivity during NATO briefings. Mr. Fournet suggested that a meeting with high ranking NATO officials would bring benefits for both sides and that the ATA participants to the Council meeting should give input as well as listen. Dr. Babst suggested presenting some of our new initiatives, for example, on raising awareness about NATO's operation in Afghanistan. She also suggested that we work on preparing a role for the ATA in support of the 2009 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary NATO summit, and present some of our proposals at the meeting with the Sec. Gen.

*General Assembly:* Vice-President Julie Lindhout presented her draft program and budget for the GA. The program has been shortened by a day and the Council meeting and Statutory Assembly will be held the same day, followed by the official opening ceremony. The second day will be the conference day, with four panels consisting of two speakers and lengthy Q+A sessions for each. The main theme would be Afghanistan and the organizer the question of how institutions can work together. The morning of the third day would host the ATA Forum and the official closing ceremony, followed by an excursion in the Ottawa area in the afternoon. Dr. Babst suggested an increased effort at fundraising in order to make the GA an important event and make it possible to bring in think tankers and others, rather than only ATA members. *Continued on Page 2...*

### Deadline for Submissions:

Please send all articles, interviews, activities and photos to  
[meagan.johnson@ata-sec.org](mailto:meagan.johnson@ata-sec.org)

Due: April 27<sup>th</sup>, 2007

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She explained that the networking character of the ATA was what is most valuable to NATO, in particular in light of a public diplomacy market where many other associations are competing for NATO PDD's funding and support. She suggested that this network character be stressed and linked to a specific theme NATO is interested in. In order to keep and gain importance in the eyes of NATO she proposed the ATA should develop concrete initiatives that mobilize the ATA network.

***“The networking character of the ATA is most valuable to NATO”***

*- Dr. Stephanie Babst, NATO Public Diplomacy Division*

YATA: Mr. Fournet thought that it had been very good to have young people on the panels at the GA in Athens as well as the parallel youth program with non-YATA participants. Harald Thørud and Mrs. Afentouli, together with other PDD personnel had been developing new ideas for a YATA - PDD cooperation the day before and brought up the possibility of sending a small YATA group to Afghanistan to meet with Afghan students. Regarding the idea of linking YATA to NATO's "Successor Generation" Conferences, Dr. Babst was very positive towards involving them in some of their conferences. She reiterated her suggestion from the last PDD-ATA meeting that YATA could link an activity to a special day in the year, as already is the case for some YATA chapters with the UN Day. In general she pointed out that these activities and all others need a lot more good marketing. ✧

## **NATO OFFICE OPENS IN BELGRADE**

*By: The Atlantic Council of Serbia*



*Ambassador Bozin Nikolic, Mr. Hans Christian Von Reibnitz, Mr. A. M. Ritzzo and Ambassador Bratislav Diodjevic*

December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2006 -Through its active role within the framework of the ATA, the Atlantic Council of Serbia contributed to better communication between foreign partners and the domestic public, which inevitably helped Serbia join PfP. The opening of a NATO office in Belgrade is a very favorable event, which promises even more intensive cooperation to help overcome the conflicts of the past. Therefore, it is our great pleasure to announce that the Atlantic Council of Serbia took an active part in the realization of such a great event. We organized the lectures that were given by Mr. A. M. Rico, NATO Deputy

Secretary General, in the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade on December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2006. The conference was attended by a lot of young, educated people. With their positions, knowledge, energy and vision these people lead Serbia towards a Euro-Atlantic future and, consequently, they represent the country's key power on its way towards NATO. ✧

## **NATO-UKRAINE ACTION AND TARGET PLANS**

*By: The Atlantic Council of Ukraine*

Since 2003, the NATO-Ukraine Action and Target Plans implementation and the promotion of citizen's awareness and support has been the goal of the ACU and the National Center for Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine. This special project was carried out from November 2006 until February 2007 with the support of the Embassies of the Republic of Poland and the Slovak Republic and NIDC. For the first time, two special publications and diskettes of the plan's full context was analyzed by experts.

Additionally, the new NATO members MAP implementation experience was studied, printed and distributed among the public during the events organized in Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk and other regions. The need to promote the MAP elaboration and implementation, which is based on international experience, was and still is one of the Ukraine's integration priorities. So, we are looking forward to learning and using the ATA sister organizations experience and advice. ✧

## EXCERPTS FROM “NATO AND THE DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS BY CHRISTOPHER COKER, LSE

For full article, please visit [www.atlanterhavskomiteen.com](http://www.atlanterhavskomiteen.com)



Christopher Coker, LSE

In recent years NATO has re-branded itself. It has gone global. It is responding to the demands of globalization. NATO is entering into two dialectical relationships: one with the Greater Middle East (in the War on Terror), the other with Asia (as the Asian Century Dawns). The alliance has a Mediterranean dialogue and is forging one with Japan, Australia and South Korea. It has rediscovered geo-politics.

The pre-eminent geopolitical narrative, at least until 1991, was the recurring necessity to prevent the domination of Europe by any single power. Europe was the pivot of world history. It is no longer. This in itself is of central importance.

In the geopolitical imagination there is always an enemy. In 1914 it was Germany; after 1945 the USSR. The identity of the enemy is not important for the cogency of the theory, which is always about conflict. This takes us to the second factor. Geopolitics assumes a permanent interest and a permanent policy solution. In the 20th century the permanent interest was the balance of power in Europe, and later, the globe. The permanent solution was coalition politics. The political challenge for the United States, in particular, was to form a coalition of liberal societies against those societies who challenged the balance of power, such authoritarian states as Imperial Germany and the USSR. Thirdly, there is always a major framework within which strategic thinking can cohere. For much of the 20th century that framework was the idea of a World Order. Geopoliticians were concerned about the kind of world order that would emerge, and who would run it. Every American president from Woodrow Wilson to George Bush in 1991 promised to take their countries into a New World Order through war. What is interesting about Bush's son, the first president of the 21st century, is that he has not promised his country a New World Order; instead, all he has promised is more successful management of the global disorder which prevails. In one sense, despite America's unipolar 'moment in history', or the emergence of what the French like to call the first 'hyper power', America's geopolitical ambitions are much more modest than those of the past.

So, what is the situation today, who is the enemy? There are two: radical Islam, or more correctly Islamism and China. What is the permanent interest? To preserve Western influence. And the solution? In the case of Islamic fundamentalism, the management of risk; in the case of China the management of its rise. Why should the latter be of interest to the alliance? It hardly ever figures in NATO's thinking. In many ways, the template for the war on terror is very similar to new thinking on crime in Western societies. What most societies in the West now aim at is modest improvements in crime prevention at the margin, as well as a better management of resources. The aim is a reduction in the likelihood of criminal acts and these days better support for the victims. No longer do we treat individual offenders: we manage criminal environments. We have 'zero tolerance' policies; we move potential criminals from the area where they pose a risk, that is, the areas that matter such as tourism or business. We do not police the community as much as manage communities of risk. And we certainly do not seek to rehabilitate criminals. These days we tend to lock them up. Our prison populations are higher than ever. And when we do let prisoners out we often tag them electronically. We monitor their movements. Freedom is no longer unsupervised.

We address terrorism in much the same way. Like the police force, our first aim is to preempt terrorist action; accordingly our policies are pro-active. We wish to 'reshape environments' the better to minimize risks that come from them. But reshaping very rarely involves much investment of economic or political resources. In Afghanistan the great challenge has been to link development to security and security to development: hence the Provincial Reconstruction Teams.

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The rise of China presents the United States with a second geostrategic challenge. As The Quadrennial Defence Review in February stated: China is at a strategic crossroads: it can either choose to work with the United States or against it. Probably it can do both. There are two arguments involved here. One is that China is still a power that is willing to come to terms with the American unipolar moment, rather than challenge it. The other is whether it challenges it or not in the future, it has one over-riding requirement: oil. It is oil that may bring it into collision with the United States in the Middle East (with its strategic partnership with Iran), in Latin America (with its strategic partnership with Chavez), and in Africa where it is now associated with what Max Boot, the American conservative commentator calls “the dictatorship premium”. It is striking that NATO hardly ever mentions oil.

The ‘dictatorship’ premium is worrying for NATO, which is training the African Union force in Darfur, for it involves another geopolitical dimension which is new: the future of global governance. The problem is that the US State Department has labeled Sudan a ‘state sponsor of terrorism’. Here the two geo-political chessboards intersect.

For states such as New Jersey, Illinois and Oregon have banned public pension funds from investing in companies active in the country. US investors have sold their holdings or suspended operations until the political situation improves, and Chinese companies have inevitably filled the vacuum. As the Nigerian energy minister commented after signing a deal with the Great Wall Company of Beijing, while the Americans insist that their trade partners sign up to the war on terror, and the Europeans insist that they tackle corruption, all the Chinese are interested in is trade.

Far from retreating on this score, the United States too is making good governance a requirement to qualify for the Millennium Challenge account. But the situation for the European members of the alliance is more serious still. The cosmopolitan states that constitute the world’s first trans-national community, the EU, have established in turn the world’s first trans-national network. It is a network distinguished not by the use of military power, but a new diplomatic style, cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitan states not only fight against terrorism but also against the causes of terrorism. Out of the solutions of global problems which appear insoluble at the level of the individual state, they regain and renew the power of the political to shape and convince. The Europeans syndicate their values by exporting their model - a trans-national one - in the hope that it will have broader appeal in the world at large. Europe runs an overlapping network which involves NGOs. These networks promote cosmopolitan democracy - the partnership between states, social advocacy groups and pressure groups involved either in direct action or the monitoring of human rights abuses. It is these that are the building blocks of a “cosmopolitan democratic view”. It is that view which is now threatened by the rise of China.

*Continued on page 16 ....*

## HUNGARIAN YOUTH TEA PARTIES

*By: The Hungarian Atlantic Council*



*Tamás Magyarics signs the visitors' book*

The idea of tea-parties goes back far into the past, but the traditional events only recently began in the fall of 2005 for the Hungarian Atlantic Council. Since then, certain youth members have been responsible for organizing such events. Once a month, the members of HYAC come together and have a talk with the representatives of the Hungarian power elite. Our guests this year were: György Bánlaki, László Botz, András Gálszécsy, Géza Jeszenszky, Tamás Magyarics, Csaba Kőrösi and Péter Medgyessy. These events were divided formally into two parts. During the first

part, guests spoke about their careers, while in the second, they answer various questions from youth participants. As a result of these meetings, the youth enjoy the opportunity to connect with a more experienced generation and make use of the speakers informed advice. ✧

## NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT: TIME-OUT UNTIL 2009

By: Fariz Ismailzade, Azerbaijan Atlantic Cooperation Association

[Full version available through YATA talk] - The year 2006 finished without significant results in the peace process for Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Both Presidents continue to remain hostage to their nationalistic crowds at home, which refuse to accept any concession on the negotiation table. It is important to start working with the public to prepare them for the painful compromises in 2009, after elections in both countries finish. If this is not done, not only valuable time will be wasted, but also both countries' leadership will increase their dependence on their domestic audience, thus further prolonging the peace process and their ability to reach any sort of deal.

For many local political experts these two coming years might seem like a waste of time. Patience is running out and most of the surveys conducted in Azerbaijan show that the public is increasingly

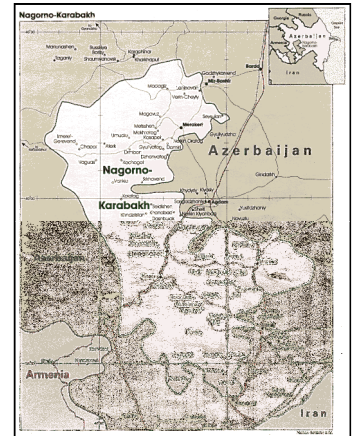
favoring the military resolution of the conflict. Thus, the prolongation of the peace talks until 2009 will likely increase these trends and the general mood of distrust and skepticism within the peace process.

However, these two years are also a time of opportunity. Opportunity for the Armenian and Azerbaijani government to engage in a real dialogue with the civil society, minimize the enemy-making propaganda machine and prepare the society for the painful, but much needed concessions in order to achieve long-lasting peace. Patience is running out and most of the surveys conducted in Azerbaijan show that the public is increasingly favoring the military resolution of the conflict. Thus, the prolongation of the peace talks until 2009 will likely increase these trends and the general mood of distrust and skepticism within the peace process. However, these two years are also a time of opportunity. Opportunity for the Armenian and Azerbaijani government to engage in a real dialogue with the civil society, minimize the enemy-making propaganda machine and prepare the society for the painful, but much needed concessions in order to achieve long-lasting peace.

Some of the major obstacles have been the high level of nationalism among the public on both sides, little knowledge of the others' perspective, limited public diplomacy and contacts between the ordinary citizens, NGOs and media, lack of media coverage and the development of the enemy image through stereotypes and hate messages in the media. This, in turn, led to public distrust of the other side, feelings of victimization, hatred and an unwillingness to make compromises and build peace.

Neither President, thus far, has been able to deal with these problems. In many ways, they have sacrificed the peace deal for the sake of their internal power and stability. The Azerbaijani government, thus far, has been forced to follow suit of the nationalistic public and play that card as well. Contacts with the Armenian NGOs and media were strongly discouraged and economic ties were prohibited until "occupied lands are freed." This, in turn, has created a vicious circle, because absence of public diplomacy has led to distrust between the two sides and thus hindered the achievement of the breakthrough in the peace process.

It is imperative that the governments on both sides engage in a serious change of tactics over the next two years. These changes should include active encouragement by both governments of direct citizens' contacts, which will help to break public distrust and images and stereotypes of the "enemy". NGO contacts, media exchanges and TV/Radio programs should not only be encouraged but also funded by the government. Educational conferences and seminars between the youth of both countries should be held. Athletic, cultural, economic and environmental regional activities should be held as well. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is one of the bloodiest and most complicated ethnic conflicts in the post-Soviet era. Working to reduce the stereotypes and engaging the public in regional cooperation with the other side is the only way to lower the sense of nationalism and reduce this very important barrier to the peace process. ✧



Map of Nagorno-Karabakh region

## “THINKING STRATEGICALLY ABOUT THE FUTURE”

By: Meagan Johnson, ATA Secretariat



Oslo, Norway, February 5-6<sup>th</sup> - The 42nd annual conference of the Norwegian Atlantic Committee took place in Oslo, Norway, on the 5th and 6th of February 2007. The conference opened, as usual, at the Norwegian Nobel Institute and continued at the Leangkollen Conference Centre. This year the title was “Thinking Strategically about the Future” focusing on two main themes: Afghanistan and Energy Security.

Opening speaker, Mr. Espen Barth Eide, State Secretary, Norwegian Ministry of Defense, addressed the subject: “Why is Norway in Afghanistan? How can we best complete our mission?” Offering a sound overview of NATO’s role in Afghanistan since ‘Operation Enduring Freedom’ in 2001 and the current state of affairs of the ISAF force today as an introduction put his subsequent points regarding the international community’s fragmented role and the growing economic and security challenges into perspective. As an over arching solution, Mr. Eide stated, “...we must to a greater extent adapt a holistic and strategic approach, while at the same time maintaining a realistic set of ambitions.” Within this framework he spoke about ensuring Afghan ownership in both the underlying processes and in the solutions, about appreciating the nuances of Afghan society by including the importance of both ethnic and cultural factors into strategy and developing a military strategy that does not jeopardize Afghan support for operations. His examples of Norway’s current initiatives and future responsibilities were easily applied to the international community as a whole and the view that “improving the situation in Afghanistan cannot be done *for* the Afghans, it can only be done *with* the Afghans” is one that certainly should be shared by all those involved in the process of stabilization and state-building. The issues addressed in the morning session paved the way for a dynamic afternoon panel debate entitled “Afghanistan and the way forward”, held up in Leangkollen.

Kristian Harpviken, Dep. Dir. Peace Research Institute of Oslo, explained how difficult it was to define the concept of a regional commitment in Afghanistan due to the complexity of the environment, characterized by varying security interests, political cultures, ethnicities, religions and more. If we are to take on a multilateral approach, Mr. Harpviken argues that there is a need for a deeper analysis and understanding in order to make sure a concept is applicable and make sure it is applied. Mr. Pål Kulø Lønseth, Public Prosecutor, specifically discussed two small tumors that he believed would be the indicators of the future: Drugs and Corruption. He argues that Afghan authorities need to understand that these are the biggest problems because until a political will is developed, to take these issues more seriously, drug money will continue to be used to buy off government officials and drug traffickers will continue to be more powerful than authorities.

**“Improving the situation in Afghanistan cannot be done for the Afghans, it can only be done with the Afghans”**

Mr. Espen Barth Eide, State Secretary, Norwegian Ministry of Defence



Opening speakers at the Norwegian Nobel Institute

**“Energy security is not only a political problem, it is global and a pragmatic approach is needed”**

Mr. Faouzi Bensara, Energy Advisor, EU Commission



Mr. Liviu Muresan, Alina Belskaya, and Harald Thorud, YATA President, dinner at the Leangkollen Conference centre

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*Secretary General, Troels Frøling,  
at the Leangkollen Conference*

Mr. Adrian Kendry, Senior Advisor for NATO, believed that there was a systematic integration needed between the UN, EU and the World Bank, for example, whereby there would be fewer distortions and less economic disparities. His solutions to the problems raised by panel member, Mr. Lønseth, were to build capacity within government agencies to address the intricate link between corruption and drugs and to improve public administration at a local and regional level.

During the 'Question and Answer' period, the underlying question was: "Why is NATO and Afghanistan so important?" Some of the panel responses that ensued were as follows: NATO is militarily responsible for the country and there are major consequences regarding the organizations credibility if it fails here. This means that there will be a serious Western long-term commitment to this uphill battle. Additionally, there is a moral and political

obligation to help transform and stabilize a country that has been in turmoil for years. NATO is an example of mobilizing nations in a collective sense and it has proven that it can adjust to the changing political environment by breaking down constitutional barriers towards old threats and if NATO fails in Afghanistan it may even be given another shot. In comparison to other international organizations such as the UN and EU, however, NATO is the most simple to reform and if it cannot, this decreases the value of the UN and the EU and many other international organizations attempting to establish their credibility within the shifting world order.

The second day of speakers and debates at the conference focused on the topic that has been at the top of most political agendas recently: Energy Security. Mr. Adrian Kendry kicked off the day by shedding light on some energy related issues that have emerged since the Riga Summit. Most importantly, it was in Riga where a declaration was issued to develop the first NATO task force to inform a senior political committee on the recommended way forward for energy security. However, the challenges lie in determining exactly what that 'way forward' should be. Kendry pointed out that "energy security is dependent on internationally connected networks" and, as a result, NATO will see that it will become engaged in a process of consultation. Given NATO's traditional military role, the question arises as to whether there is a role for armed forces and a military concept to energy security. On the other hand, is there a place for geographic evolution and energy solidarity in the alliance whereby NATO can begin to understand clear terms of reference in respect to where it can add value in the field of infrastructure and energy security? The final question: does NATO have a meaningful role?

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## OVERCOMING NATO RELATED STEREOTYPES

*By: The Atlantic Council of Ukraine*

The topic of the regional round table discussions organized at the Technical Universities in Zaporizhzhya and Dnipropetrovsk in February was "*Overcoming NATO related stereotypes*". Similar events have also been held in 5 other regions in Ukraine. The discussions were initiated by the Ukraine-NATO Civic League members (which consists of 47 NGO's) with the support of NATO information and documentation center (NIDC) and the participation of various Embassy representatives from Ukraine. Teachers, experts, students as well as local authorities and reps of the leading political parties met for the first time to debate foreign policy priorities, current external implications from Russia, Europe and USA and their perceptions of the regions.

These discussions, especially in the East and the South of Ukraine, are influenced by the illegal attempts by the communists and their governmental coalition partners to avoid any true information concerning NATO and to hold a referendum that will limit any official declarations regarding Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic choice in

2002. The proposal, on the eve of the Parliamentarian elections when signatures of those in favor of the referendum on NATO and a Single Economic Area (SEA) were failed to pass, was not only incorrect when comparing these two different institutions, but was also very opposed to future membership of Ukraine in the EU and NATO. The so-called "illegal people's" (communist) referendum to oppose the President's actions to join NATO already took place in Crimea and is planned to be held in Donetsk and Odessa in the middle to end of March, 2007. Considering that Ukraine is among NATO candidates for 2009, recently confirmed by the NATO Secretary General in Munich, current political developments as well as pro-Russian, anti-NATO, anti-American and anti-European campaigns need to increase international cooperation and support of civic society building in Ukraine. ✧

## YATA'S ACTIVE ROLE IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

By: Harald Thørud, YATA President



Participants at the conference "The Riga summit and RUSSIA-NATO relations" in Saint Petersburg.

*Saint-Petersburg, Russia* - In recent weeks, the NATO-Russia partnerships have been severely harmed by a number of non-constructive remarks from the leadership and political-commentators from both factions. In YATA over the last 12 months, however, the NATO-Russia relationship has been increasingly endorsed.

During the NATO-Russia rally in May 2006, starting in Vladivostok and ending in Kaliningrad, YATA demonstrated substantial support. Several YATA chapters took a direct part in the project and played an important role in reaching out to the young Russian civil society. The Youth Section of the Association for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation was founded in Moscow in 1997. Today there are as many as 15 regional YATA chapters within the Russian Federation. These are: Veliky Novgorod, Vladivostok, Volgograd, Yekaterinburg, Kaliningrad, Krasnodar, Nizhniy Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Pskov, Saratov, Tyumen, Yaroslavl, Murmansk, Moscow and Saint-Petersburg.

Following the conference- "The Riga summit & Russia-NATO relations" at Saint Petersburg State University on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2007, a regional chapter in Saint Petersburg was established. Present at the opening were a large group of students from the Saint Petersburg State University as well the leader of the Russian YATA- Mr. Sergey Utkin, Leader of the French YATA, Ms. Benedicte Borel, former YATA President, Mr. Troels Ekeshkov Sorensen and current YATA President, Mr. Harald Thorud.

Through YATA, young people are meeting and discussing the NATO-Russia relationship. This dialogue, which is based on a mutual respect, both on a formal and informal basis, could be used as model for our political leadership. ✧

## "5 YEARS AFTER 9/11: ARE WE WINNING THE FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM?"

Summary of Proceedings from GLOBSEC 2006 International Conference  
Compiled By: Milan Solar, Gabriela Stupenova and Michal Krizan

[For full version visit [www.globsek.sk](http://www.globsek.sk)] - Bratislava, December 14, 2006- The Euro-Atlantic Center, in cooperation with the Slovak Atlantic Commission, cosponsored by the NATO Public Diplomacy Division, United Nation Information Service Vienna and the US Embassy, convened an international conference in Bratislava on international terrorism and the fight against it. The event aimed to assess the security environment of today and tomorrow in terms of international terrorism; examine the contemporary and future role of NATO and other international organizations in the fight against terrorism; identify how real the threat of international terrorism is to Slovakia; ascertain the opinion of the Slovak security community on international terrorism and discuss ways to deal with it; and come up with recommendations on how the society can better prepare itself for a terrorist threat. The goal of such an annual event is to create space for a qualified discussion of Slovak and foreign security experts.

The first discussion panel, entitled "Mapping the Phenomenon: International Terrorism-Today and Tomorrow", focused on analyzing the nature of today's security environment in terms of international terrorism and identifying the current nature of the threat. Furthermore, the panel also aimed to assess what the next wave of terrorism will look like. Under the chair of Jean-Pierre Berens, Counter Terrorism Officer at the Action Against Terrorism Unit from the OSCE Secretariat, the panelists also discussed the effectiveness of international organizations' response—including the United Nations, the OSCE and the EU—to this threat. In his contribution, Fernando Reinares, Senior Analyst from the Elcano Royal Institute for International and Strategic Studies in Madrid, provided several comments on the current nature of terrorism in Europe. Because the terrorist network—represented by Al-Qaeda and related groups—has goals seriously affecting the division of power throughout the entire world, we should use the term "global terrorism" rather than "international terrorism" when discussing this phenomena.

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Walter Gehr, Head of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Project on Global Terrorism, spoke about how the UN has set international standards in this fight by adopting a collection of resolutions and universal conventions, including the Counter-Terrorism Code of the International Community—the first UN resolution that deals with an abstract problem without geographical or application limits. The challenge, the UN face nowadays, is to translate the international standards into the criminal justice system of national states. Ala Hair Saleh, President of the Atlantic Club of Iraq in Baghdad, examined the specific characteristics and the broader context of terrorism in Iraq. Terrorism “does not distinguish between children, men and women and it does not recognize national borders”. During the era of Saddam Hussein, terrorism was not known in Iraq but today we can see it all around the country. The allied troops underestimated the protection of the former Iraqi army’s arsenal that has been stolen and is now used in suicide attacks by various extremist groups. Finally, speaking about the future of democracy in Iraq, he said that it depends on the solution of economic problems and the preparedness of the Iraqi people for the “transformation of their society from dictatorship to democracy”.

Mark Burgess, Director of the World Security Institute in Brussels, presented his view on the relationship between the policies of the European Union and the spread of terrorism in Europe. After 9/11, in accordance with the ordinary process “something bad happens, leaders meet and they adopt an action plan”, the EU member states adopted EU’s Action Plan that includes 150 measures aimed to tackle the threat of international terrorism. The plan established uniformity in the perception of terrorism in the EU and proposed a list of steps to be done in order to speed up the adoption of necessary legislature. However, some member states do have difficulties with the implementation of the Action Plan because they consider it a threat to their sovereignty and an unwanted deepening of EU’s jurisdiction. Burgess concluded, “everybody wants coordination, but nobody wants to be coordinated”.

*“Everybody wants coordination, but nobody wants to be coordinated”.*

Michael Smith, Associated Editor of the London Sunday Times, claimed that the terrorists of the 1970s were relatively easy to understand and even easy to identify with. Their aim was not to kill per se, but to gain the maximum publicity and to wear down resistance to their demands. In contrast to them, new types of radical Islamists are characterized by the lack of any identification with the Western civilization. As a result, Al-Qaeda infiltrates Muslim countries inciting differences between the Islam society and the West. The most effective means of dealing with terrorists remains removing the conditions, which provide them with support bases— whether that is on the ground in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan or among Europe’s Muslims. A significant role in the “war on terrorism” is that of the media, which can help “the public to be aware”, but on the other hand sometimes act as a “very blunt instrument”.

Adam Kobieracki, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Operations, began his keynote speech by expressing his opinion on NATO’s contribution to the fight against international terrorism that gained importance after 9/11 and required the Alliance to adapt to a new security environment. The fight against terrorism is not a task for NATO alone, it requires a comprehensive multinational approach. Kobieracki presented NATO’s efforts in this struggle, most visible through the ISAF operation in Afghanistan. The involvement of non-NATO members in this operation is an important sign that the Alliance has partners to work with when facing global terrorism. Recently, as a response to insurgent activities, NATO extended the ISAF operation to the south where its forces are involved in a real combat on the ground. According to Kobieracki, NATO “will be ready to leave Afghanistan when there is a government that will be able to control the country.” In the past, there has never been a central government with the support of an elected parliament and because of this, building everything from the beginning is the most difficult problem. However, there has been significant political progress. To accomplish not only military, but also political and economic goals, “it is obvious, that today more than ever, NATO must remain in cooperation with the Afghan government because the Alliance cannot solve all the problems by means of military power.” He asserted that the ISAF operation provides a good lesson for the Alliance and helps to find out how “we can eliminate the threat of terrorism before it comes to our home countries”.

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## BELGRADE JOURNALIST FORUM

*By The Atlantic Council of Serbia*



*Leading the forum, from left to right, Mr. Milanovic, Mr. Kovacevic, Mr. Boskovic and Mr. Gordic*

The journalists' education is one of the activities to which the Atlantic Council of Serbia pays great attention. Thus, over the last few years the traditional Belgrade journalists' forum has been bringing together leading electronic and written media representatives from Belgrade and inland towns. Its aim is to offer real information on what Euro-Atlantic integrations are and what is their actual importance for Serbia. Insufficient information has destructive effects on society, especially if it refers to journalists who launch a partial truth to the public, which indirectly influences public opinion.

This year's journalists' forum of the Atlantic Council of Serbia was held on December 14, 2006, as a part of initiative of the regional project Balkans Mosaic. Organized in the form of a round-table, it gave an opportunity to the young journalists to exchange their opinions with Serbian experts on current events which were covered under the key topic, "Euro-Atlantic integrations"

Among the speakers were: Mr. Milanovic, Director of the NATO Directorate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Boskovic, Head of Public Relations Department, Mr. Gordic, Deputy of Head of the Personnel Department at the Ministry of Defence, Mrs. Milenovic, member of the Board of the ACS and an expert in the issue of organized crime and Mr. Geric, member of the ACS and an editor of the economic column in "Politika" daily.

The organization of this journalists' forum is a serious job by which the Atlantic Council of Serbia spreads the network of young journalists who have a significant role in the framework of developing the Balkan Mosaic project. In cooperation with the Atlantic Committee of Norway, we place a great deal of importance on involving the media as well as creating a regional network of journalists. ✧

## VISITE AU QUARTIER GENERAL DU CORPS DE REACTION RAPIDE

*Par: L'Association Française pour  
la Communauté Atlantique*

A l'initiative de l'Ambassadeur Edouard Braine, vice-président de l'Association Française pour la Communauté Atlantique, le général de corps d'armée Yves de Kermabon, commandant le Quartier Général du Corps de Réaction Rapide - France (CRR-FR) a invité, le 21 février, une délégation de personnalités, dont le Général de Bollere et Jean-Sylvestre Mongrenier (auteur d'un excellent livre sur "La France, l'Europe, l'OTAN") et membres de l'A.F.C.A. à visiter ce Quartier Général installé dans le magnifique Fort Vauban de Lille. Le général de Kermabon qui, rappelons-le, avait commandé les forces de l'OTAN au Kosovo, a pris ce nouveau commandement le 1er octobre 2005. Le Quartier Général du CRR-FR est en mesure de commander une force multinationale de 60.000 hommes. Il peut agir selon trois possibilités : sous l'égide de l'OTAN, sous l'égide de l'Union Européenne ou être déployé dans le cadre d'une mission uniquement française. Le général de Kermabon est assisté du Général Georges Lebel et d'un général allemand et d'un général belge. Après avoir précisé le rôle du CRR - FR dans son discours introductif, le général de Kermabon passa la parole au général Lebel que non seulement développa les précisions sur le rôle et les possibilités d'action de ce quartier général, mais tint à le resituer dans son encadrement géographique et historique. C'est ainsi que fut mise en valeur la personnalité exceptionnelle de Vauban. Celui-ci fut non seulement le grand bâtisseur de fortifications que tout le monde connaît, mais aussi un grand soldat et un homme d'une culture particulièrement large.

*Continued on Page 14...*

## “LET’S START THINKING ABOUT A NEW GRAND STRATEGY FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY”

An Interview with Klaus Naumann, Ex-NATO General (ret.) and former VP of the ATA  
By: Dieter Farwick



[For full version, see [www.worldsecuritynetwork.com](http://www.worldsecuritynetwork.com) or the ATA website] - February 6<sup>th</sup>, 2007 -

**Dieter Farwick:** *Sir, how do you describe the present status of the European Union with regard to security affairs?*

**Klaus Naumann:** Turning to Europe and the EU I sadly have to say that Europe is, politically, a partner in disarray. Today’s Europe is deeply divided on its role in the future. Some believe it should be a global player and should strive to be on an equal footing with the U.S., although Europe is not doing too much to acquire matching capabilities. Others are much more modest and see the Europe of the EU as a regional player. Some believe Europe should, in the very long term, become something like the United States of Europe whereas most Europeans favour the idea of a “Europe of the fatherlands”, i.e. a somewhat loose federation of national states. Europe does not have a clear and common vision. I assume that Europe will for quite some time continue to look inward and that it will be far away from being the global player it should be. The Europe of the EU has achieved some remarkable progress in developing European military capabilities, but compared to what is needed it is too little and too slow. Nevertheless, it is a train that has left the station. Europe must now concentrate on acquiring the capabilities which will matter tomorrow and it must avoid duplication of headquarters. Europe’s military is not running short of “Chiefs”, it is running short of “Indians”; it does not invest adequately in deployable C4ISR and effective engagement capabilities, and many countries spend far too much of their inadequate defense budgets on personnel and running costs. Europe depended on the US during the Cold War; I am afraid it will depend even more on the US in the years to come unless its political leaders are willing to really modernize the military capabilities of most European countries.

**Farwick:** *What is the impact of energy security for the US, China, India, Russia and Europe?*

**Naumann:** Energy security should be discussed by looking at three different categories: A nation’s energy mix, access to fuel and the security of energy plants and energy/ fuel transportation. Energy security will be one of the issues which will dominate national and international politics. Nations will first have to take decisions on their proper energy mix, and the more dependent they are on the import of fossil fuels such as gas and oil, the more they will have to think about nuclear energy as renewable energies will not for the foreseeable future compensate for the gap a renunciation of nuclear energy will generate. Secondly, nations will also increasingly compete for secure and guaranteed access to suppliers of gas and oil in particular. China, India, and Europe will be competitors in the gas and oil markets of the Middle East, Russia, and Africa; exporters such as Russia might well feel the temptation to use gas and oil exports as instruments in political competitions for influence. The less dependent a country or an organisation such as the EU is, the more political flexibility they will have. This principle will heavily influence the American approach to energy security and it will lead to major changes in the US as far as the production and consumption of gas and oil are concerned. The US will seek to take advantage of its technological superiority and it will find new technologies to reduce its consumption of gas and oil. The rapid progress the US achieved in coal liquefaction is one example; new ways of extracting oil slate may be another. I therefore assume that the US will probably be the least dependent of all major industrialized countries. Concerning the security of plants and ways and means of transportation, a lot has been done but much remains to be done. There are many ways to disrupt a nation’s energy supply. I could therefore imagine that energy plants or grids might well be the next targets of international terrorists should they eventually believe that the time has come to launch a truly disruptive attack. Taking all categories into account, Europe appears to be most vulnerable, the U.S. the least vulnerable, while China’s and India’s vulnerability rests primarily with the countries’ dependence on imports and free trade. Russia is by no means as invulnerable as those who are obviously playing with gas and oil as a weapon seem to believe. Russia has to modernize its energy supply system and it needs, to this end, an incredible amount of money and knowledge. Russia has a security problem as long as the unrest in its Caucasian underbelly lingers. Therefore Russia depends on free trade, cooperation and partnership as well. The country is well advised to play its energy card very cautiously and with the utmost care.

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*"In my view it is indispensable to start thinking about a new strategy; a Grand Strategy for Peace and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, since solutions can only be found if one applies all instruments of international politics to defuse tomorrow's crises."*

- Klaus Naumann

**Farwick:** *I remember you saying that in warfare there is a "Change of paradigm from destruction to paralyzing" - e.g. through cyber warfare. Could you elaborate on this new thinking?*

**Naumann:** I assume that technology will continue to progress with remarkable speed. Its focus in the military field will for quite some time remain on what is called C4ISR plus effective engagement, i.e. the military exploitation of information superiority in conjunction with the forever increasing pinpoint accuracy of standoff weapons. In parallel, the preparedness of post-modern Western societies to use force to achieve political successes will shrink as the vulnerability of these societies to the use of force grows. Consequently, one might see that the future instruments of use in crises, conflicts, and wars will no longer primarily be military instruments. They might be cuts in energy supply, access denial to critical raw materials, the offensive use of abundant monetary reserves and the manipulation of access to knowledge pools such as the software production centres, followed by the offensive use of cyber attack and steps which aim at the paralysation of an opponent's ability to control its own country and its instruments of power. I would call this strategic paralysation since it no longer aims at the destruction of an enemy to enforce surrender. Steps such as the recent Chinese shooting down of a satellite make a lot of sense if one thinks of such a strategy.

**Farwick:** *Is there an even more global role for NATO to play and if so, why? Is there sufficient mutual solidarity within NATO - e.g. in Afghanistan?*

**Naumann:** NATO is still the organisation which is presumably best placed and equipped to act in serious crises, although its tool box is limited to military means which no longer suffice.

NATO is the organisation which ties, in a mutually legally binding way, the US to Europe and vice versa. It is thus the only organisation which could act where necessary. Given alarming international instability, in which most future crises seem to be the result of global dangers, NATO will be more necessary than ever. NATO will have to continue acting where necessary in order to keep risks for its members at a distance, but it must never become a global policeman. In my view, today's NATO is not as healthy as its communiqués make the world believe. NATO is capable of conducting the ongoing and authorised PSO, but its ability to be the anchor of stability for Europe and beyond is questionable since there is lack of unity. The political will to see NATO as the option of choice in future crises does not exist; nor does NATO possess the necessary capabilities. In addition, NATO is entangled in the Afghan quagmire and its hope for a quick success there is rather bleak. No doubt, success in Afghanistan requires much more than military force but to believe in a division of labour in which a few nations fight in one part of the country and the others concentrate on stabilisation elsewhere will not lead to success. The allies have first to agree on a common strategy for peace and stability for Afghanistan and they have then to act in solidarity. I have not heard of any convincing proposal, nor do I see a reasonable alternative to a strategy which seeks first to eliminate insurgency, then holds and immediately stabilises so that the people see quick and tangible improvements. To pursue such a common strategy requires all allies to contribute to the best of their abilities. Then it will be possible to win peace and stability. Nobody should ever forget that alliances such as NATO have as their very foundation the principle of shared risks and burdens. If anyone allows doubts that all allies stick to this principle then the cohesion of the alliance will be eroded and the future of the alliance is put at risk. It is therefore high time for NATO to review the situation in Afghanistan, to agree on a common way ahead, and to act accordingly by sharing risks and burdens collectively.

**Farwick:** *What should the West do more of to find convincing responses to the challenges ahead?*

**Naumann:** The many instabilities, the new dangers, and the risks raise many questions; political, legal and military ones. No answers have been found so far. It is, in my view, indispensable therefore to start thinking about a new strategy; a Grand Strategy for Peace and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Solutions can only be found if one applies all instruments of international politics to defuse tomorrow's crises. But if the world neither disposes of functioning security organisations, nor develops a strategy to cope with the new risks, the first step has to be to tell our nations' citizens where we stand and to persuade them to develop the will and the resolve to resist - to seek solutions that prevent crises, conflicts, and wars. The will to act and to protect our way of life without imposing our order on anyone is key. Should courageous and visionary statesmen succeed in generating such a will, the strategy will soon be agreed and the means to implement it will be procured. ✧

## COOPERATION PROJET - SERBIA, MONTENEGRO AND CROATIA

By: *The Atlantic Council of Serbia*



Marko Kovcevic, panel member, addresses the group

The Atlantic Council of Serbia has set up a regional project of cooperation between Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia in the framework of the Balkan Mosaic and in cooperation with AAYPL (Atlantic Association of Young Political Leaders). The project's name is "Building New Balkans Together to NATO".

The initial meeting was held in Belgrade on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2006. Its participants were young leaders from three neighboring countries and former members of socialistic Yugoslavia. The special guest was Mr. John Inge Lovdal, whose experience and knowledge were an

Invaluable contribution to the round-table discussions. Mr. Lovdal is Secretary General of the Atlantic Association of Young Political Leaders and a long-time associate and friend of the Atlantic Council of Serbia. One major idea of the project, set up in Belgrade, is connecting young educated people in the region in order to analyze the essential problems which shape the 21<sup>st</sup> century Balkans and to produce concrete forms of cooperation in order to find quicker and more effective ways of dealing with those problems. With decades of wars and conflicts, we can now be happy to have those wrongly directed energies behind us. We are also happy because now, after all those events, we, the youth of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia can sit down at a table and shape a new vision of peaceful Balkans, a process that sees regional cooperation as the key factor for improvement.



Vladimir Rajjicic, Dusanka Rodic, Jelena Jeljic, John Inge Lovdal, Nikolina Saso and Dana Lusa

Besides the above working projects, the event included a visit to the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There, young leaders met the Foreign Minister Deputy, Ambassador Djordjević, Deputy to General Director for the EU, Mr. Momcilovic, and Assistant Minister for Human Resources at the Serbian Ministry of Defence, Mr Jeftic. Those meetings allowed young leaders to be informed, from the source, about the situation in Serbia after it joined PfP, about its possibilities and the potentials on the way to UN and NATO.

Regional cooperation and information exchange on the way towards integration, organized crime and corruption and public opinion problems are but some of the common issues we wish to address together. After the first round-table in Belgrade, we believe that meetings in Podgorica and Zagreb will produce more concrete proposals and that they will open up new fields of cooperation in this part of the region. A final idea of for this project is to make a concrete contribution and support the wider regional project, the *Balkan Mosaic*.

The Atlantic Council of Serbia believes in the potential of the future Balkans' generations in order to create better quality of life in this region. Thus, we energetically initiate and support all such activities. ✧

*Visite au Quartier Général du corps de réaction rapide from Page 10*

La visite des bâtiments particulièrement bien restaurés qui s'en suivit pris fin avec un repas très convivial qui permit d'enrichir les connaissances de visiteurs et d'établir des liens avec ceux qui accueillait. MM. Braine, Moreau de Ballasy et Marcus tinrent à remercier les généraux et les officiers présents au déjeuner pour la chaleur de l'accueil et le caractère passionnant de cette. Les participants purent retourner à Paris, heureux d'avoir appris beaucoup, non seulement sur l'adaptabilité des forces françaises à la notion de réaction rapide, mais aussi sur l'ouverture d'esprit des généraux français et la volonté de pouvoir agir pour la France, pour l'Europe et pour l'Alliance Atlantique. ✧

*Thinking Strategically About the Future from Page 7*

On a more regional level, Mr. Stanislav Shizhnin, Senior Advisor MID Moscow, addressed “Priorities in the Energy Diplomacy of Russia”, offering insight into the many facets of Russia’s partnerships and relationships between corporations and other countries as well as where it fits in on the global playing field. Similarly, Mr. Ole Lindeman, Research Fellow Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, spoke about the Norwegian governments’ policy and how it is “a virtue of necessity” in that it is now dangerous *not* to cooperate with players like Russia. He underlines the importance of mutual engagement and mutual dependence, but points out that although there is so much to gain from cooperation, interdependence fuels vulnerability within states and dialogue often becomes acrimonious. Mr. Faouzi Bensara, Energy Advisor EU Commission, said that this “problem is not only political, but it is global and a pragmatic approach is needed”. He saw NATO and other international institutions as useful mechanisms in increasing security to global relationships, but he believes that there first needs to be a real dialogue established with those outside the EU before there is a need for ‘military intervention’.

The rest of the day really showed the diverse range of views and opinions held about energy security, confirming just how difficult it is to define and address it in a cohesive manner. Speakers included James Sherr, CSRC London, addressing “Prospects for Russian-EU energy agreements”, Alan Riley from City University London speaking about the gas deficit, Keith Smith, CSIS, about the politics of transportation, Ole Gunnar Austvik, Lillehammer University College, on the topic of “Market liberalization and security of supply” and finally, Irakli Menagarishvili and Liviu Muresan offering regional perspectives concerning Georgia and Romania, respectively.

With such a variety of speakers, offering refreshing perspectives to two topics that remain on everyone’s mind and at the top of political agenda’s on an international level, this conference proved to be a great success. Thank you to all of those involved in the organization and execution of the event and a special thank you to host Chris Prebensen, Secretary General Norwegian Atlantic Committee. We look forward to next year! ✧

*GLOBSEC 2006 from Page 9*

Chaired by Barbora Marônková, NATO Public Diplomacy Division Information Officer, the second discussion panel “*NATO and the fight against international terrorism: a changing alliance*” examined NATO’s role in the struggle against terrorism. By describing the Alliance’s deficits and strengths, this panel tried to find out how to improve the performance of NATO’s counter-terrorism tasks and deepen the cooperation with other international organizations, NGOs and local populations.

Jean-Paul Raffenne, Director of the Senior Executive Seminar from the George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, emphasized that the defense against terrorism represents one of the highest priorities for NATO. Nevertheless, the organization is now suffering from a number of difficulties in the political area and many ask the question: “Is NATO’s duty to become a worldwide organization despite its creation as a defense alliance in the North-Atlantic?” Raffenne concluded, “we need to address the root causes of terrorism, which are not military”. Despite the ever-present trans-Atlantic and intra-European tension, NATO needs changes, which includes refocusing its interests. Rodolphe Vallee, Ambassador of the USA to the Slovak Republic, agreed with Raffenne that NATO has to recognize new challenges, but on the other hand he argued, “NATO must think and act globally”. All nations have to contribute to the transformation of the Alliance, which is inevitable if NATO wants to fulfill all its goals. Vallee concluded that 9/11 was “an attack on our common values, our common way of life and our solidarity should not be selfish”. Sergey Markedonov, from the Institute for Political and Military Analysis in Moscow, focused his contribution on the NATO–Russia mutual cooperation in the anti-terrorist struggle. Several issues do, however, limit these relations. One of which is NATO’s enlargement perspective and the efforts of some East European and Caucasian states to join the Alliance creates fears

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and phobias in Russia, which are supported by the risk that the influence of Russia may become marginalized in its closest neighborhood. Markedonov spoke on the lack of a common anti-terrorist strategy and perception of terrorism by NATO and Russia, which definitely hinders any effective cooperation in this field. This partnership and anti-terrorist “struggle should be transformed from a PR-project to a real cooperation”.

Abdul Jalil Ghafoory, Journalist from the Afghan PEN Club International, presented his view on the conflict in Afghanistan, which is considered to be a part of the fight against international terrorism. Regarding the security situation in Afghanistan, there are now enormous future challenges for NATO to face: establishing a secure state with the Afghan Policy; balancing the policies and decisions in order to avoid catastrophes in the future; teams of NATO personnel, Afghan experts and local Afghans should be trained to develop cultural stability and understanding. Ghafoory suggested establishing contacts with warlords and to use them as a link to reach out to the local population as a solution.

Martin Fedor, Member of Parliament, Defence and Security Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, chaired the third discussion panel entitled “*Slovakia and Terrorism: Towards a Balance Between Panic and preparedness*”, which aimed to examine how dangerous and imminent the threat of international terrorism to Slovakia really is and to identify ways to better coordinate anti-terrorism activities within various governmental authorities. The panel intended to come up with recommendations how to integrate the society and the individual into anti-terrorism activities in order to minimize the consequences of a terrorist attack. The view of the Slovak Muslim community on the problem of international terrorism and the fight against it was presented by Abdulwahab Al-Sbenaty, Director of the Institute for Middle East Studies. He suggested analyzing the ways in which terrorism managed to set up such a broad social base. The characteristic attribute of Muslims living abroad is their division into several different groups and communities. It is important to unite these groups into one Muslim community to reduce the threat that one of them will be negatively influenced. State authorities can contribute to this by providing financial resources for cultural activities in the community. However, many non-Muslims in Slovakia still consider Muslims to be a strange element of society. Regarding the education of religions, Al-Sbenaty suggested establishing Islamic universities in the European Union that could be able to prevent the rise of extremism in Europe’s Muslim Diasporas. Oskar Krejčí, Director of the International Affairs Department of the Faculty of Political Science and International Affairs in Banská Bystrica started his contribution by analyzing the National Security Strategy of the USA. The failure to build and promote confidence and the incorrect definition of the United States’ role in the world were identified by Krejčí as the main weaknesses in US strategy. The danger and threat to the USA is “exaggerated because none of the world powers tries to threaten the USA. The policy of George Bush’s administration destabilizes America’s position and authority more than the so-called “rogue countries”. Mário Nicolini, Advisor to the State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic, pointed out that the intention of terrorism is to create psychological effect with the ultimate aim to achieve political change. Terrorism is a complex social phenomenon that has political, social and cultural roots. To eliminate the “roots” of the threat “we need to implement complex strategies”, which now include such non-traditional dimensions of security as minority and immigration policies. Although the state remains the key actor in the fight against terrorism, it cannot succeed without other international and domestic actors who have a stake in the elimination of terrorism, including private businesses, multinational corporations, NGOs and the individual contribution of all citizens. Educating citizens in their new role in security should be a priority in governmental outreach strategies. Slovakia is not immune to both international and domestic terrorism for the fact that it now institutionally belongs to the West and it deploys armed forces in crisis regions around the world—including Afghanistan and Iraq—as part of the international coalition against terrorism.

Ivo Samson, Senior Research Fellow of the Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, emphasized the need for a balance between panic and preparedness for potential terrorist attacks in Slovakia. Although Slovakia has no experiences with terrorism so far, it needs to respond to a new kind of threat. According to a military source, Slovakia is endangered by various kinds and versions of terrorism, especially by international narco-terrorism, criminal terrorism, ethnic terrorism, religious terrorism and information-terrorism. Samson pointed out that the appropriate approach to this new threat must be based on international experiences and must take into consideration the fact that neither Central Europe nor Slovakia is safe from it. Because Slovakia belongs to the Western civilization, follows its cultural values and it is a NATO member, it must recognize the risk of being confronted with “anti-western” animosities. ✧

*NATO and the Dialogue of Civilizations from Page 4*

Now none of this would matter if not for the fact that geopolitics tells a story. What makes us afraid of new challenges is the trend to invest it with a certain degree of historical inevitability. If the 'pivotal year' for Halford Mackinder was 1904, the pivotal year for many geopoliticians is 1979 which saw two turning points: Deng Xiaoping modernized the Chinese economy since when economic growth has been dramatic, and the Mullahs came to power in Iran. The Islamic republic of Iran represents a challenge to the American version of modernity and has inspired fundamentalists across the world, many of whom look to Teheran for funding.

In terms of Islamism in general it is useful to turn to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 which the South Africans abstained from signing because they were unable to accept the notion of racial equality. In retrospect we can see this was a country, one issue (apartheid) debate which only ended in 1994. Looking back at that event, however, much more significant in the long term is the abstention of Saudi Arabia which went largely unnoticed at the time because the overwhelming majority of UN members were Europeans or like the Russians and Americans were of European descent Saudi Arabia abstained on religious grounds. The Universal Declaration endorses the freedom of religion (including Article 18, which gives one the right to change one's religion). According to the Saudis this was contrary to Islam which recognizes conversion in only one direction: to Islam. The Saudi abstention of 1948 was seen as a rejection of the European Enlightenment, which had produced the secular ideologies such as liberalism and Marxism, which in 1948 were contending for the world's soul.

Today, of course, we can recognize that the Saudi abstention retains a degree of symbolism as the clearest expression of the now growing insistence that the Western idea of what is required to be a fully functioning human being is not universally shared. And yet the NATO Secretary-General in a speech in Warsaw in February claimed that it is only through active engagement in the Balkans, Darfur and Afghanistan that the alliance can promote its values, or what he called its 'value-based security policy'.

Thus we come to the second grand narrative: not the clash of civilizations, but the challenge to the Western 'moment' in history - that 500 year cycle in which Western ideas and values were entrenched in the international system. That system which the West did so much to create may be coming to an end. Put very crudely, the international community and its laws and regulations are largely a creation of Western governments. It is by no means certain that China will be interested in sustaining it indefinitely, or playing by the rules. For China may be becoming, in continents such as Africa, a 'soft power' as well. Over the past 25 years the country has fashioned a successful, economic model for development and modernization embedded in ancient traditions. This is highly attractive in some parts of the developing world and threatens to reduce the influence of the competing Western principles of liberalism, democracy and the free market. In other words, the 'post-Washington consensus', may be challenged by a Beijing consensus.

To conclude, NATO is operating in an infinitely more complex world than five years ago. If it wants a constructive dialogue of civilizations it needs to formulate a new Security Concept. In time -it would be best - for its sixtieth anniversary. This would allow it to stop expanding its tasks and roles every time the Secretary-General makes a speech. It would enable it to prioritize its missions; it would enable it to rein itself in, to do the things it can do well, and not attempt those it can't. ✧

## MEMBER ACTIVITIES & ANNOUNCEMENTS

### Icelandic Atlantic Association - *Activities Summary*

February 3<sup>rd</sup> - Minister to the Foreign Ministry hosted a lunch meeting.

February 21<sup>st</sup> - Conference, "The Role of Iceland in the international arena" addressed how Iceland should contribute to international peacekeeping and what its' role should be within NATO, in an open forum held by five female parliamentarians.

Beginning of March - Meeting in Keflavik Airport, District Sherrif is the host and speaker on discussions concerning terrorism.

### Danish Atlantic Treaty Association - *DAYS 2007*

The Danish Atlantic Youth Seminar (DAYS) will take place in Aalborg in the Northern part of Denmark, July 4<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup>, 2007. The target group is young people aged 20-26, students or members of the ATA. The overall theme of this year's seminar is international conflict and crisis management with a specific focus on the Caucasus, which will serve as a case study.

The Participation fee is 200 € and an official invitation and further information about DAYS 2007 will be sent out in the near future.

Member Announcements & Activities from Page 16

### The Atlantic Council of Serbia - Activities

**NATO semi marathon** - "Running for Partnership" will be organized in our country by the Atlantic Council of Serbia with the support of NATO. This sporting event is a continuation of a successful cooperation project started last year when marathon began as a pilot project.

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**NATO in Balkans** - As a part of Euro-Atlantic integration, the Partnership for Peace Program and NATO, the Atlantic Council of Serbia, in cooperation with NATO, is preparing public tribunes to inform about the benefits derived from joining these secure and political systems, in cities around Serbia. The tribunes are used for information exchange, questions and answers from high NATO officials and for the education of the citizens about the benefits of joining. This is one of the traditional projects of the Atlantic Council of Serbia. Its new concept, planned for spring 2007, will be in accordance with the changed political situation and will address the benefits of Serbia joining PfP as a step towards NATO.

### UPCOMING ATA EVENTS:

Spring Bureau Meeting: April 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>  
Spring Council Meeting: May 8-9<sup>th</sup>  
General Assembly: October 31<sup>st</sup>-Nov 2<sup>nd</sup>

*Thank you to all those who contributed to this successful newsletter!*



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### Atlantic Council of Ukraine - Activities

Education on security and defense is becoming the priority of the ACU's activities. The Ukrainian version of the educational package for school teachers "Poland in NATO" entitled "*Euro-Atlantic integration: experience of Poland and Ukraine*" was presented and distributed at the conference of the All-Ukrainian association of school heads in December 2006. It was prepared and published by the ACU with the support of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland. Other successful activities in this sphere have been the retraining of more than 100 Ukrainian school's teachers in 2006 at the Warsaw's training center for teachers (to be followed by similar joint courses in Ukraine this year) and the first joint competition for students, "*Secure Ukraine/Poland. Secure Europe. Secure world*", which took place in 15 regions of Ukraine from September to December 2006 and should become an annual event. Its winners are invited to visit NATO Headquarters on March 7<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>.

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**The 4th Ukraine-NATO Civic League Assembly, March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2007 in Kyiv:** Its participants, represented by 47 NGO's, state officials, international experts and diplomats, will analyze and debate "*the society's role in strategic Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine*". The common task is to raise the NATO related information public awareness and integration support. One of the priorities and initiatives to be discussed is the formation of the *Security sector partnership network* as well as the integration of international experiences and criteria study and implementation.

### Armenian Atlantic Association - Activities

**NATO week, March 12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>:** The AAA will organize a bus trip around Armenia, the "NATO-Armenia Educational Rally", which is supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia and NATO PDD, lasting six days. In each of the eight cities along the route, AAA will rent a hall and invite local university students and representatives of active youth NGOs to participate in a 4-hour event where there will be an introductory presentation about the NATO Educational Toolkit (translated in Armenian), NATO, its history, transformation and the Armenia-NATO cooperation.